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178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution.

[128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to

[567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro
[249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,³
[231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.⁴ Tobacco
[249] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of
[249] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the
[179] Recôncavo.⁵ The combined sugar mill and plantation (engenho), which
[249] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of
[471] the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before
1600.⁶

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[249] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three
[249] important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

241 In
433 contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly
178 manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive.
249 The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the
[492] mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water
power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was
evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from
wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for
several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo
backlands. The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave
[464] labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the
Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes¹⁸ had a relatively
[177] sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made
substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.¹⁹

175 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to pro-
249 vide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in
464 sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor
567 shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a
perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brasil.

[162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brasil--of
which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did
not solve the problem.²⁰ In the early period most engenhos had from
about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many
as 1,000.²¹

175 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscega-
563 tion. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred
567 on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the
mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--
retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and
sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

161 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the
162 Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

177 The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brazil, and
178 within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On
433 a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved
249 in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of
565 São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition
181 in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressively
infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-
South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in
the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the
present decade.¹⁸ New economic groups also are coming to the fore in
the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the
emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not
destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural
patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost
four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have
been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and
the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed.
In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the
Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

177 Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper
178 class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new
565 political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas
181 from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers,
have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of
this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

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178 its vested interest in the traditional system is weaker. Thus on all
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181 social levels the old Recôncavo is being threatened.

For the present, however, tradition is a continuing and power-
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181 ful force in agriculture and in the economic and social institutions
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433 which surround agriculture in the Recôncavo.

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Economic and social changes in Brazil during the last century have had two important effects upon the relative position of the Recôncavo: (1) This historic region, in common with much of the Northeast, has lagged behind the new economic and social centers of the Central-South--the Recôncavo has become, vis-a-vis Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and the southern states, an under-developed area. (2) Many new, usually externally originated, cultural elements have been rapidly accepted in the Recôncavo, whereas much of the conservative ideology of the society has remained essentially unchanged.

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Racial Characteristics. The Recôncavo is a region of heterogeneous racial characteristics--in every município each of the three basic racial groups (white, black, and mixed) comprises at least 10 per cent of the population. These racial categories generally do not correspond to social groups, nor is the Recôncavo in any sense a plural society. In lineage, in social and cultural interaction, and in the daily business of earning a living the various people of the region are closely linked.

During three centuries of slavery hundreds of thousands of Africans were brought into Bahia, and the Negro element in the population is still large. As a result of this and the more or less continuous miscegenation "Baia [Bahia] and Negroid characteristics are very closely associated in Brazilian thinking."⁶ On the basis of the 1940 census, over 70 per cent of the people of the state of Bahia were Negroes or mixed bloods. Only one other Brazilian state--Amazonas--had a higher proportion, and the national average was only 36 per cent.⁷ Within Bahia the proportion of non-whites was highest in the Centro-Litoral (east-central Bahia), which includes the Recôncavo. In 1940, 78 per cent of the people of this census division were Negroes or mixed bloods.⁸

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433 Sugar cane is the fifth or sixth—depending upon the year—most valuable crop grown in Brazil, and it is cultivated, at least on a small scale, in all states of the country. Large scale commercial production, however, is confined to two areas—the Central-South (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais) and the Northeast (Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Bahia). Each of these states produced over one million tons of cane in 1948.

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177 In distinction to the principal subsistence crops of the Recôncavo, sugar cane is an old world domesticate. The variety acquired by the Portuguese from the Arabs in North Africa and brought to the colony via the Madeira Islands was the sole type cultivated during most of the colonial period, but today a number of varieties of East or West Indian origin are grown.

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249 Sugar cane is differentiated from other crops of the Recôncavo by the intensive monocultural character of its production. Tobacco and manioc and corn and beans are grown jointly, but sugar cane shares the land with no other crop. North of the cidade of Santo Amaro there is an extensive area of clay soils and undulating plain almost completely blanketed in bright green sugar cane. The monochrome is interrupted only by a few pastured valley bottoms or by the widely scattered usinas (sugar mills), plantation settlements, and villages. There are similar, though less extensive landscapes wherever sugar cane is important in other parts of the Recôncavo.

The system of cultivation of sugar cane is also very different from those employed in producing other crops in the Recôncavo. One planting is sufficient for several reasons, for the stalk re-develops from the root after the plant is harvested, though with progressively declining vigor. In Bahia, three, four, or five harvests from the

482 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in
492 no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer.
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[491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil,
there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In
these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and
beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy.

489 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been
492 changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and
492 more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both pri-
178 tive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Baía
505 de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricul-
tural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing
vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and
motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador
to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the
donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs
of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha
de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the
market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough

492 crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the
493 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost
[171] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the
carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with
a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels
about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no
bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to
repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for
the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.² The state government took a hand and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

The factory was conceived of as a large mechanised mill,

2. Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.)

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[The Private Plantation]

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1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá

Value of the plantation: Cr\$1,500,000,00.³

Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2

1 John Deere plow

1 jeep

2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons

9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)

9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Reconcavo

30 burros for carrying cane

12 saddle horses

35 milk cows and breeding mares

78 cattle for breeding purposes

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The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.⁴ For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile taua which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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3. The cruzeiro (Cr\$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately \$75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, História de um engenho do Reconcavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

[The Usina]

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a Mass can be celebrated for the family when a priest is available.

Situated nearest the chalet are the houses of the general overseer, the chief mechanic of the factory, the major office employees, and the director of the factory store. Next in order are the houses of the technical personnel of the factory. Behind them and farthest from the center are the homes of the agricultural workers who work on the plantation nearest the factory nucleus. The regional overseer of this plantation also lives among his plantation workers. The school and the store are located just outside the small park of the chalet.

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The chalet has replaced the former solar (mansion) of the plantation masters. Its style differs from the earlier type and its name is derived from the fact that it is a modified copy of a Swiss chalet. In a different way it is as ornate as the old solar, but more up-to-date, with running water and electricity.

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The personal, paternal aspect of the private plantation obviously cannot function on the usina, which has 1,350 people living on its lands. There is, nevertheless, an attempt at just such relations. The owning family spends vacations in the chalet. They also spend Christmas, Carnaval, and Botada⁶ there, and at those times there are parties for the workers, Christmas presents for them and for their wives and children, dances, and ball games. The Corone (Colonel, an honorary title now going out of use), the patriarch of the family, now incapacitated, still receives visits from the older workmen who used to have daily contact with him. His son and son-in-law, present directors of the enterprise, make their presence felt throughout the factory and the six plantations as best they can. As on the private plantation, the final arbitration of any difficulty lies with the usineiro, and no worker considers himself too far removed to go to him if he cannot get satisfaction from his overseer. However, the strongest relationships, both business and personal, lie between overseer and worker--employee and employee--rather than between employee and employer.

. The private plantation presents a far better appearance than

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6. Botada is the annual blessing of the factory machinery, performed on the first day of the grinding season. It is a traditional ceremony formerly carried out on the plantations.

attached to the canoe by a cord called the espia (literally, "it spies"), with which the fisherman can feel when the net has reached the bottom; he can also feel any activity within the net indicating that he has caught something. The net is about 18 feet high, and its round bottom has a circumference of approximately 120 feet. A series of lead weights are sewn into the bottom to carry it downward through the water. The whole net, with its lead, weighs between 5 and 6 kilograms. The sizes of nets vary with their age, for constant repair enlarges them or sometimes makes them smaller. While the man is fishing, the canoe remains drifting, undirected. As the tide begins to run out the fisherman must stop casting his net every so often to paddle the canoe back to the starting point and to keep it from being carried away from the fishing grounds. At other times, if the shrimp appear to be moving away, he picks up his paddle and follows them. The entire operation of casting the net, pulling it in, and emptying it into the bottom of the canoe takes from ten to twenty minutes. If the shrimp are present in great numbers the fisherman speeds up his activities; if not he moves more slowly. C. F. Ott calls the circular casting net "incontestably a Portuguese cultural element."⁴

The period of fishing rarely lasts more than three hours, for by then the tide is moving more strongly and a breeze has arisen. These two factors upset the fishing for they move the canoes away from the fishing grounds. During the month there are approximately fifteen days of fishing with the casting net. If his luck is good a man may catch 20 to 30 kilograms of shrimp a day, and occasionally more; or else he may catch next to nothing. It should be stated that the author never saw a good-sized catch taken with any net, in spite of the great number of times he accompanied the fishermen.

As a rule the fisherman owns his own casting net or borrows one. The canoe is usually rented, and the usual price is two cruzeiros for the morning's fishing. Shrimp-bring from Cr\$15,00 to Cr\$25,00 a kilogram, so this type of fishing is relatively remunerative and involves little expense. A net

4. C. F. Ott, "Os elementos culturais da pescaria balana," Boletim do Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), No. 4 (October, 1944), p. 31.

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The above scheme shows that Class A, composed of land-owners, who in this community are sugar-cane planters, is found only in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. As has already been indicated, this class still follows the old pattern of the plantation master in that its members are part-time residents of the county, maintaining winter homes in the capital. This class is locally composed of seventeen adults and their sixteen children. A total of five families are represented, three of which are related to one another through marriage. These people have no competition from below in Vila Recôncavo. In the capital they are part of the national upper class, and as such are subject to all the stress and strain of any cosmopolitan "high society" group. They are largely descendants of former plantation masters, barons, viscounts, and other former aristocrats, who belonged traditionally to the national, as well as the local, upper class. Other members of these families are successful lawyers, doctors, and educators, and their political participation in state and federal matters is as traditional as their landowning. They belong to the upper class because they are legitimate descendants of former white aristocrats with long family traditions, because they are large-scale landowners and therefore major economic agents, because they are highly educated, some of them holding advanced degrees from European or North American universities, and because they engage in traditional gentlemen's professions such as law, medicine, and engineering.

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This is the group which is rapidly shedding the constraints of traditional behavior and embracing new ideas which come to them from Europe and North America. In contrast, the class immediately below them has for its goals and its patterns of ideal behavior the now historic upper-class traditions such as the double sex standard, the cloistering and protection of women, and dignity of dress and formal manners.

On the local scene it can be said that it is impossible for anyone to move up into Class A, for while its relations with the lower classes are cordial, they take place on the level of paternalism. The gulf between this small upper class and any of the classes below it is so great that it is inconceivable that anyone should cross it. In Salvador this upper class is considerably larger and less homogeneous, and although the usual pattern within this class is for social life to be spent em família--that is, in extended family gatherings rather than gatherings of several different families--the class is

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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha¹ does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição em uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

794 who never miss a Mass, benediction, or prayer. By means of
125 a questionnaire in the town and the rural area, the following
794 data were obtained concerning the average frequency of church
+565 attendance per year for men and women over fourteen years
369 of age:

TABLE 11
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Urban		Class	Rural	
Number of times per year Males	Females		Number of times per year Males	Females
40	96	A	19	23
17	25	B	4	3
4	41	C	3	3
		D		

369 Several things are shown by this table. First, the higher a
794 man's social position, the more often he goes to church, at
+565 least in classes B, C, and D. Second, the frequency of atten-
[554] dance by the women of all classes is considerably greater than
that of the men. Third, the women of Class A attend church
fewer times per year than do the women of classes B, C, and
D of the urban area. Fourth, there are great differences in
the rural and urban attendance: people from the plantations
seldom go to town for Mass, preferring to wait for some spec-
ial plantation occasion when the priest will go to the planta-
tion. The difference between the attendance frequencies of
Class A and Classes B and C of the rural zone is due to the
time that Class A spends in Salvador, where members of-
ten attend Sunday Mass, as well as family Masses.

African Cults

794 Brazilian candomblé is usually thought of as a syncretism
794 between African cultism and Catholicism. There has been a
794 partial identification of the African deities with Catholic saints.
For example, Ogún, the African god of war, has been iden-
tified with St. Anthony; Oxóssi, deity of the hunt, with St.
George; Omólú, the god of pestilence, with St. Roch; Êxu,
the trickster, with Satan; Yansan, with St. Barbara; and Xan-
gô, with either St. Jerome or St. Barbara. There has been

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some confusion in the minds of the cultists themselves as to exactly which saint an African spirit represents, and there often are slight differences in interpretation which do not, however, upset the cult practices to any great extent. Cultism in Brazil has been described in detail by Nina Rodrigues,³ Arthur Ramos,⁴ and Edison Carneiro,⁵ and by the Americans Donald Pierson⁶ and Ruth Landes,⁷ all of whom concentrated on cultism in the city of Salvador; Eduardo Octavio da Costa⁸ has good material on urban-rural cultism in Maranhão (northern Brazil). In Vila Recôncavo the syncretisms are being forgotten as the content of cults changes from African spirits to the Indian spirits, for which no identification is made with the Catholic saints. [794
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Cultism apparently got its start in Bahia in the early nineteenth century. Carneiro⁹ sets the date for the establishment of the first cult house in the city as 1838. Old people in Vila Recôncavo do not remember cultism beyond two generations ago. There is one woman in town who is in her late nineties and who only remembers hearing of her mother and her mother's generation as active in cults. Apparently the force of cultism increased with the decrease in Catholic proselytization, as the number of priests in the rural areas diminished. It also increased in tempo with the manumission of slaves, and apparently was one of the institutions through which former slaves bought the freedom of other slaves. [177]

Today the cults of the rural area are far less elaborate than those in the city of Salvador, although it seems that even in the city, cultism is showing the same general trend toward disintegration which is so strongly apparent in the rural area. In both places there is a shift away from African ritual to practices connected with the Indian spirits, whose demands [794
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3. Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).

4. Arthur Ramos, Onegro brasileiro (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1940).

5. Edison Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, (Publicações do Museu do Estado, No. 8 [Bahia, 1948]).

6. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942).

7. Ruth Landes, The City of Women (New York, 1947).

8. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil (New York, 1948).

9. Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, p. 31.

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are easier to understand and to comply with. In the town of Vila Reconcavo there are two houses of cult activities with female leaders, and in the rural area there is one such house with a male leader. These are the three houses which were studied by the author. There are six more in the area, but they are much smaller and poorer than these three.

One of the three is led by a woman almost a hundred years old. She is now completely blind and can barely walk about the house. She has not been outside of it for several years. She has an assistant, a young man in his twenties, who as a child brought her firewood and water and who now has been taught by her much of the cult ritual. The house is now inactive, for the old woman has outlived her former followers, or else they have moved away. The room which contains the insignia of the African spirits is still kept up, and the proper foods and drinks are always placed there by the young man, in accordance with the instructions of the old lady. She herself does little, although she still consults the spirits by throwing cowrie shells. Her fame as a cult leader is widespread, and people still come to her for help, but she is too feeble to do much. In her day she was a "purist" and went through the long training period necessary to become a devotee and later a cult leader. She still knows a few words of Nagô, the Yoruban language, and laments the passing of her generation, with whom she says she conversed only in this language. Several of her initiates broke away and started their own houses in other places, although according to her they were not ready to assume leadership since they did not know enough of the mysteries.

The other two houses studied are led by disciples of one of the old woman's devotees who broke away. There is no contact among the three, although the two younger leaders are in awe of the old woman, aware that she knows much more than they do and that in her eyes they are only upstarts, manipulating something mystical which they are not sufficiently prepared to control. She does not intimidate them, however, and now ignores their activities, since they both have recently accepted the Indian spirits which the old woman feels are bogus. She is more interested in passing on her knowledge to the young man who cares for her house, though she complains that he is too indifferent to her teachings. He is learning a great deal, however, though he has not yet "made" his saint, that is, he is not yet a full-fledged devotee. Preparations for

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to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cultism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious" of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints, he moved into the house where he has now been leader for thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

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Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagô and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

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According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits, although the informant could not name them all and neither could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiuousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in the community. The active one in town is located on a street in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered configuration of the village. The front room, which is the largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacrificial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mar, or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is much the same complaint about the term fiha, or fiho, de

er of the Waters. Naturally, in such a small group, the secret is not very well kept and it is soon known who has sent a present, why, and when. Many people in this group, and some in Class A, entertain the fear that they may become themselves possessed by a deity, especially if they expose themselves to cult activities during a ceremony, and for this reason they do not attend the rituals. To a certain extent this fear is the basis for the protest many of them make against night-long drumming, although the common complaint is that they cannot sleep because of the noise. The sound of the drums at night is very impressive, and no one is unaware that nearby the supernatural is being called. It is very disturbing to those who do not understand the mechanics of the ceremonies and the meaning of the drumming and sacrifices.

Spiritualism

Spiritualism, which does not use drums, is as disturbing as cultism to people of all classes, although because of its quieter character it is not always known when a session is taking place. Spiritualism seems to be gaining popularity in the area, although it is greatly feared by many people. It is slowly gaining adherents, however, because of the healing powers exhibited by the mediums. In most cases people are drawn to it, both in the town and in the rural area, through illness and the promise of a cure. Because of lack of aid from the doctor, or because of the expense of medical treatment, or perhaps because of the failure of the African cult to cure him, a patient may try spiritualism as a last resort. For those who are helped by it, it becomes a constant companion, and although they may have entered with fear, they soon lose it. They become staunch defenders and try to draw in their friends. The greatest successes in curing seem to follow the herbal treatments of the African cultists, but spiritualism requires no further obligations, as do the cults. It is common to hear someone say that attendance at a spiritualist seance cured him of some minor ailment and left him free of obligations, and that he did not even have to pay the medium. Spiritualism is also used to discover and counteract the evil eye and evil machinations of any enemy. In spiritualism one finds the same Indian spirits which are found in the local African cults, although no dancing is involved. There is now definite competition between the mediums and the cult leaders for adherents.

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There is one outstanding case of a Class A family which has been "helped" by spiritualism. This family had not been too well liked in the town and felt that evil was being worked against it. It was claimed that a local medium prevented harm to the father of this family through the medium's spirit. The father became convinced of the value of spiritualism and converted his wife to it. They now make no move without first consulting the spirits, and they frequently call the medium to their house in Salvador for aid. The urban upper class is no stranger to spiritualism, and even those who make no use of mediums and spiritualistic sessions seem to consider themselves possible victims of spiritualism. A decade or so ago, experiments with spiritualism, such as the moving glass, were popular. These experiments gained many adherents and left many others in a state between belief and disbelief in the possibilities of spiritualism.

Protestantism

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Protestantism has made no entry in Vila Recôncavo. This is a minor point of pride among the residents, who have heard of Protestantism but know nothing about it. In other areas of the Recôncavo there have been converts, but as yet there are no Protestant churches, chapels, or house groups in Vila Recôncavo. In other communities, traveling ministers hold services in small private houses of the adherents. Just as with the African cults, there always are many onlookers standing outside who discuss the merits of the sermon and of the Bible readings and hymn singing. Those who are sufficiently impressed sometimes join, but as yet there is considerable resistance to another organized religion.

Traditionally

565 the *preto* is linked with ignorance and superstition,
 563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
 794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
 (171) cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
 (177) described by various authors. [8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
 (172) known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman
 Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there
 are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing
 to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary
 to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the
 god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old
 ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
 (776) innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto*'s
 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of
 Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of
candomblé, Yemanjá being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity,
 while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
 (782) Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
 (226) must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the
mãe de santo who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and
 who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb
 the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then
 publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in
 many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial
 support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it
 is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he
 secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial
 classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it
 that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all
 racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or
 as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is
 even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former
 lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
 555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and
 without education. Two examples are the plantation adminis-
 (463) trators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
 (872) well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
 (873) write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
 and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools
 were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night
 schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often
 walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact
 that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
 565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
 872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

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THE SEAPORT OF BAHIA

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At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malé uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.¹ Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*² in and about Bahia, and

¹ See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

² Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

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NEGROES IN BRAZIL

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As one moves interior from the Reconcavo into the *sertão*, the Negro contribution to the population tends to decrease and the Indian contribution, much mixed with both white and Negro, to increase. Both on the moderately watered plateaus and river basins, chiefly devoted to cattle-raising and light farming and occasionally covered with virgin or second-growth timber, as well as in the sandy, dry, and hot *caatinga* country of the semiarid zones, one finds a frontier society which is relatively isolated and has been only slightly modified during recent decades by contact with the outside world.^a

Thus, in this particular area of intimate racial and cultural contact where the Negro and his descendants have been fated to work out a rather picturesque career, one will find three distinct types of settlement and population. In the *sertão*, or interior, is a highly mixed stock to whose composition the Indian has contributed in greater proportion probably than either the Negro or the European. In the Reconcavo, with its tradition of a departed rural aristocracy, a disintegrated plantation system, and a long history of slavery, the population is still principally negroid. While in the city of Bahia itself the people are largely of mixed European-African origin, individuals of either pure European or pure African descent being clearly in the minority.

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In the city also, the social order is still relatively stable. There has been in recent times little change. Bahia is, as we have seen, a comparatively old city, conscious of its traditions and proud of them. Conventions originally developed

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^a Euclydes da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (12th ed.; Rio, 1933) gives a vivid and dramatic account of life on the *sertão*. Although written in 1902, it is still timely. R. B. Cunningham-Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic* (New York, 1925) is based upon this more detailed account.

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NEGROES IN BRAZIL

565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of residence. One usually finds here the more modern and substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here [362] ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large [463] landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [8 7 3] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [4 6 3] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in [291] the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic architecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be [422] found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [206] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here [217] live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the municipal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or [207] Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is [794] least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* [177] ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

CHAPTER III

CASA GRANDE AND SENZALA¹

EVEN as late as the second quarter of the nineteenth century a visitor to Brazil wrote: "Again and again, while travelling in the interior, I have seen troops of new slaves of both sexes, who could not speak a single word of Portuguese, varying from twenty to one hundred individuals, marched inland for sale, or already belonging to proprietors of plantations."² These newly imported Africans were known as *negros novos*, or "new Negroes."³

Since the major portion of African importations into Bahia came from contiguous territory in Africa, the Negroes ordinarily brought with them closely related dialects and, consequently, could more easily communicate among themselves in African tongues. Gradually there came into general use, especially among the influential semi-independent *negros de ganho*, an African language known as Nagô,⁴ which by facilitating intercommunication intensified the Negroes' moral isolation from the white world and retarded the whole acculturation process. Nagô continued for a long time to

¹ The "Big House" and the "slave quarters."

² George Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, 1836-1841* (London, 1849), p. 13.

³ Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 187.

⁴ "Like the French, we in Bahia call Nagô all Negroes from the Slave Coast who speak the Yoruba language. Of this group we have received slaves from all the smaller subdivisions, from Oyô the capital of Yoruba, from Ilorin, Ige-sha, Ibadan, Ifé, Iebô, Egba, Lagos, etc." (*Ibid.*, p. 137).

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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.¹⁶ Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

¹⁶ In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de cansds* and *busios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *cansds* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-38).

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... is spoken by all the slaves; and their own dialects are allowed to lie dormant until they are by many . . . quite forgotten."¹⁷ With the acquisition of the master's language went quite naturally other European habits and customs, and the group of assimilated Negroes, known as *ladinos*, grew in numbers relatively rapidly.

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Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system continued, the circumstances under which this gradual assimilation went on were ordinarily those imposed by a mild form of slavery in which the natural and continuous growth of intimate personal relations tended to further humanize the institution and to modify its formal and legal character to such an extent that the widely traveled Richard Burton, enamored as he was of the customs of the East, could in the middle of the nineteenth century say, "Nowhere, even in oriental countries, has the 'bitter draught' so little of gall in it."¹⁸

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Symbolic of the intimate character of these personal relations is a custom recorded in detail and with some sense of the humor of the situation by the able French artist Debret.¹⁹ The head of a Brazilian household is depicted setting out with his family, all in gala attire, for a customary Sunday promenade. The entire group is in single file, the two

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹⁸ Sir Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1869), I, 270.

¹⁹ Invited to Brazil at the request of the Brazilian emperor, Debret subsequently published three volumes of drawings and comment which together furnish a highly illuminating record of the life of Rio de Janeiro in the early part of the nineteenth century (see J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816-1831* [3 vols.; Paris, 1835]). A similar record was made by another competent artist, Maurice Rugendas. See his *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835).

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NEGROES IN BRAZIL

The "wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil,"⁷¹ which impressed some commentators as contributing to the favored treatment of Brazilian slaves, was an integral part of a social order in which the large family was the principal unit of cohesion. Under such conditions the network of personal relations arising out of the intimate contact of master and slave not only tempered but, over a period of time, tended to destroy the formal barriers between them. "The Negro is everywhere among the Brazilians," wrote Codman, "and they understand him thoroughly."⁷²

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It was usually among the newly arrived Africans, the field hands, or those blacks like the semi-independent *negros de ganho*, all of whom were not in intimate contact with the whites, that escapes and insurrections occurred. Some of these Negroes at times affected scorn and contempt of whites.⁷³ But those who were in close contact with the Europeans over a period of time developed sentiments of "belonging together," of loyalty and affection. Under such cir-

⁷¹ "One afternoon I sat in a street car of the Copacabana line running to and from the heart of Rio de Janeiro city. As we approached the Avenida and paused at a sharp turn at the regulator's signal, a small boy poorly clad in cotton clothes got onto the front platform with a dinner pail in his hand. He set it down, removed his cap, bent his knee as the motorman, with a swift smile at the child, extended his right hand. The boy respectfully kissed it, replaced his cap, and jumped down. The little incident was typical of the wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil; it is here usual enough to see elderly bankers kiss the hands of their parents, but courtesy is not confined to the upper classes. . . . Brazilian men meeting each other in the street a dozen times a day, lift their hats every time to each other" (L. E. Elliott, *Brazil, Today and Tomorrow* [New York, 1917], p. 76).

⁷² *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

⁷³ Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 9) mentions the following incident from Pernambuco: "One evening when we were walking along the Rua Nova, a black woman who was passing us suddenly drew aside with a lofty air, exclaiming: 'O meu Deus, os brancos perto de mim!' (Oh, my God, whites near me!)"

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cumstances they gradually lost their African customs and traditions and took over more and more European ideas, attitudes, and points of view.

This loyalty and devotion, as well as even deeds of heroism, on the part of Negro slaves quite naturally evoked corresponding sentiments of appreciation and affection in masters and their children. Mrs. Louis Agassiz, visiting, together with her husband, the Academy of Fine Arts in Rio in 1865, noted with particular interest the portrait of a Negro

who, in a shipwreck off the coast, had saved a number of lives at the risk of his own. When he had brought several passengers to the shore, he was told that two children still remained in the ship. He swam back once more and brought them safely to the beach, but then sank down exhausted, and was seized with a hemorrhage. A considerable sum was raised for him in the city of Rio, and his picture was placed in the Academy to commemorate his heroism.⁷⁴

There hangs today in the Pinacotheca at Bahia a famous painting of the *mãe preta*, or "black mother." "We children," recently remarked a prominent Bahian banker, "respected our *mãe preta* as much as, or perhaps even more than, we did our own parents. I'm sure we feared her more and obeyed her more readily."

Henrique Dias, a Pernambucan slave, materially and somewhat spectacularly aided the Portuguese when they were engaged, during the seventeenth century, in driving the Dutch out of Pernambuco. Captured, he was shortly released, the Dutch thinking that "because he was a Negro slave he wasn't worth the cost of feeding." He returned to fight effectively for the Portuguese and was once wounded in battle. Following the expulsion of the Dutch, he was given many honors, commissioned in the local militia, and put in

⁷⁴ Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brasil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 478.

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African costumes, songs, and dances.¹⁷ The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."¹⁸

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixás* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . grotesque manner. . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

¹⁷ *Ibid.*¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, I, 300.

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NEGROES IN BRAZIL

In the time of Nina Rodrigues, African "carnival clubs" were still active in Bahia.¹⁰⁰ A Embaixada Africana ("The African Legation") and Os Pandegos da Africa ("The African Clowns") were the more prominent. Of lesser importance were A Chegada Africana ("The Arrival of the Africans") and Os Filhos da Africa ("Children of Africa"). A common theme portrayed on the floats prepared by these Negroes was "primitive Africa brought to Brazil a slave." Certain African traditions were also represented. Thus, for the Carnival of 1899, Os Pandegos da Africa prepared a float representing the river Zambesi "on one of whose banks might be seen the King Labossi reclining in an immense seashell and surrounded by his ministers Auá, Oman, and Aboto." A second float carried "two individuals representing the powerful ministers of the King's court—Barborim and Rodá"; and a third showed "the hut of Pae Ajou, his wife and the magical *cabore*"¹⁰¹ which brings good fortune to one and all." Rodrigues was impressed with the enormous crowd of Negroes and mixed-bloods which accompanied the floats, "singing African songs, dancing African dances and applauding the images on the magician's float." The scene was one of "a colossal *candomblé* traversing the streets of the city,"¹⁰² although police regulations at that time forbade the public appearance of the cult.

Much enjoyed by Brazilian Negroes were certain dances like the *lundú* and the *batuque*, evidently of at least partial African origin, although they perhaps also contained certain Portuguese and native Indian elements.

¹⁰⁰ Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.¹⁰¹ The *cabore* is a nocturnal bird.¹⁰² Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

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Wells, visiting in Minas Geraes in the latter part of the nineteenth century, witnessed the *batuque* and records that it is usually danced by two couples, sometimes more, who face each other. Two tinkling . . . guitars on this occasion commenced a thrum-thrum, thrum-thrum, and the head man of the estate . . . advanced and marshaled the dancers, two women and two men; thrum-thrum, thrum—three or four voices suddenly commenced a loud, high-pitched, wild, rapidly delivered, impromptu refrain, containing allusions to the *patrão*¹⁰³ and his merits, the incidents of the daily work mingled with the loveliness of ideal Marias; the other men present joined in the chorus, each taking a second or third, a falsetto, or a bass. With rhythmic songs accompanied by clapping of hands and shuffling of feet, the dance commences, at first a slow measure that is maintained for some time, then gradually it increases in rapidity, the dancers advance and retreat, the women swaying their bodies and waving their arms, the men clapping time with their hands at every chorus. The measured tones rise and fall, then again increase in time, the songs and shuffling steps become fast and furious, hands and feet and voices all keep time; and there is much pantomimic action between the couples. . . . The surroundings were a bright fire that burned and flickered on the earth floor. A single-wick castor-oil lamp was hung on a post. The forms of men and women, lightened by the upward glow of the fire, figured prominently against the dark obscurity of the interior of the shelter.¹⁰⁴

Certain customs of the whites were taken over completely by the Negroes. Especially was this true (with a few exceptions which we shall see later) of dress. Stewart recounts of

¹⁰³ Employer.

¹⁰⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 108-99. The *samba*, a form of the *batuque*, is today in a modified form the favorite popular music of Brazil. For information on the African contribution to Brazilian music see especially Mario de Andrade, "O samba rural paulista," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLI, 37-114; Flausino Rodrigues Valle, *Elementos do folclore musical brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1936), particularly chap. III; Luciano Gallet, *Estudos do folclore* (Rio, 1934).

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Stewart recounts of Rio in 1852 that "two black African women, richly and fashionably attired, came sauntering along with the most conscious air of high-bred self-possession. They were followed by a black female slave, also in full dress, carrying a black baby three or four months old, and decked out in all the finery of an aristocratic heir—an elaborately wrought, lace-frilled and rosetted cap, and long flowing robe of thin muslin beautifully embroidered, and ornamented with lace."¹⁰²

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A fashion which in the early part of the nineteenth century served "to mark the high rank of those (of either sex) who adopted it" was that of "permitting the nails of the fore-finger and thumb to grow to a great length . . . [and be] cut to a sharp point."¹⁰³ Today, while the whites in Bahia no longer follow this fashion, one occasionally sees individuals of prominence in the Negro group—for instance, Mãe Anninha of the *candomblé* of São Gonçalo—with long fingernails.

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However, assimilation is not a process in which the individuals of only one of the races in contact are modified thereby while members of the other race remain unchanged. Circumstances in Brazil were such as to favor the taking-over by the whites of certain African elements. One rarely found a white child, especially during the slave period, who had not been reared by a Negro *ama*. She "gave him of her own milk, rocked him in his cradle or hammock, taught him his first words of halting Portuguese, his first Padre Nosso, his first Ave Maria, his first 'vôtel' or 'oxente'; she put into his mouth the first *pirão* with meat and

¹⁰² *Op. cit.*, p. 293.¹⁰³ Andrew Grant, *History of Brazil* (London, 1809), p. 234.

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molho de ferrugem.¹⁰⁷ From her and from the *mucama* (maid), as much as, if not more than, from his father and mother, the white child learned to speak. And almost without exception, he was given a *muleque companheiro de brinquedo*, a little Negro slave of his own age and sex, to be his playmate and his almost constant companion.¹⁰⁸ José Verissimo says that during slavery there was "no house which did not have one or more *muleques*, one or more *corumins*, little victims consecrated to the caprices of *nhônhô*.¹⁰⁹ his horse, his *leva-pancada*, his servant, his companion, his friend."¹¹⁰ In 1821 Mathison saw on an estate near Rio "a number of fine Negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner . . . like the Negroes."¹¹¹ Freyre has suggested that "very likely many a Brazilian child took for his first hero, not a white physician, nor a navy official or a lawyer, but a slave acrobat who knew how to execute the difficult pirouettes of the impromptu circuses and of the *bumbas meu bois*"¹¹² of the *engenhos*; or a Negro player of the trombone or the flute."¹¹³ Under these conditions it is not surprising that

¹⁰⁷ Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 247. *Pirêdo* is made of manioc meal and meat broth; *molho de ferrugem* is oil of the *dendê* palm.

¹⁰⁸ Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

¹⁰⁹ Slave rendering of *menino* (male child).

¹¹⁰ *A educação nacional* (Rio, 1906), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 248. A *leva-pancada* is one who "takes the beatings."

¹¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹¹² The *bumba meu boi* is still to be seen in the Bahian interior. It is a folk drama in which a man dressed to represent an ox plays a prominent role (see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* [Rio, 1934], pp. 250-68; see also his *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* [Rio, 1935], pp. 103-14).

¹¹³ Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

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Koster found the masters and their families taking over many of the customs of their slaves.¹¹⁴

Grant, visiting Bahia about 1800, noted that the principal amusement engaged in at private gatherings of the upper class was a dance of African origin:

It is performed by an individual of each sex moving their bodies to the monotonous tones of an instrument, always in one measure, and with scarcely any action of the legs or feet. The spectators seem delighted with the performance, and cheer the dancers by the most clamorous marks of approbation. This national dance . . . is indulged in by all ranks of the citizens. . . .¹¹⁵

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Numerous changes in the whites' speech occurred. Especially was this true on isolated fazendas where *senhores* and their families were semiliterate or even illiterate. The *r* and the *s* disappeared as final consonants from many words, *fazer* becoming *fazê*; *mandar*, *mandô*; *comer*, *comê*; and *lh* was often reduced to *l*, *mulher* becoming *muler*; *colher*, *coler*; etc. In 1798 the bishop of Recife urged the teachers in a local *recolhimento*, to try to correct "certain errors of speech" in the young ladies there studying, especially that of inverting certain letters and saying, for instance, *breço* instead of *berço*, *cravão* instead of *carvão*; of omitting letters in the middle of a word and saying, for example, *leado* instead of *telhado*, *fio* instead of *filho*; of dropping the final letter of the plural or of words ending in a harsh sound and saying, for instance, *muilas florê* for *muilas flores*, and *Portugá* for *Portugal*.¹¹⁶ Freyre says that these dialectical modifications were particularly noticeable among isolated families in the rural areas, where Negro slaves were "constantly within the

¹¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, 200-201.¹¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 232-33.¹¹⁶ Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 193.

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house like persons of the family." Freyre adds that "still today the members of certain illustrious families *de engenho* can be identified by their peculiar vices of pronunciation which were originally learned from Negroes within their homes," as, for example, the Wanderleys of Serinhaem and Rio Formosa.¹¹⁷

The use, among certain slaveholding families, of a "slow and heavy manner of speaking," which gave "an appearance of affectation, fatigue, and illness," is also ascribed by Freyre to African influence. Numerous African words were adopted, especially into the common speech of the lower class, and a few have become good usage even among the educated minority. Freyre writes:

What Brazilian, at least from the North, feels any strangeness about such words as: *caçamba*, *canga*, *dengo*, *cafuné*, *lubambo*, *mulambo*, *caçula*, *quitute*, *mandinga*, *muleque*, *camondongo*, *muganga*, *quibêbe*, *quengo*, *batuque*, *banzo*, *mucambo*, *bangué*, *bozô*, *mocotô*, *bunda*, *zumbi*, *vatapá*, *carurú*, *banzé*, *mucama*, *quindim*, *catinga*, *mugunzá*, *malungo*, *birimbau*, *tanga*, *cachimbo*, *candomblé*? Who prefers to say "mal cheiro" instead of "cattinga"; or "garoto" instead of "muleque" or "moleque"; or "trapo" instead of "mulambo"? These are terms which correspond better than Portuguese words to our experiences, our palates, our understanding, and our emotions.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-2.

¹¹⁸ *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 245. For further information on words and phrases of African origin commonly used today in the predominately Portuguese speech in large areas of Brazil see, particularly, Renato Mendonça, *A influência africana no português do Brasil* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1935); Jacques Raymundo, *O elemento afro-negro na língua portuguesa* (Rio, 1933); Mario Marroquim, *A língua do Nordeste* (São Paulo, 1934), especially pp. 155-59; Dante de Laytano, *Os africanismos do dialeto gaúcho* (Porto Alegre, 1936). The author himself collected approximately three hundred words of African origin commonly used today in Bahia.

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In the speech of very young children the doubling of a tonic syllable became common. Hence, *nhônho* replaced *menino*; *titio* and *titia* were used for *tio* and *tia*; *dodoe* for *doe*; *dindinho* for *padrinho*; *vôvô* for *avô*, etc. Proper names "lost their solemnity, dissolving in a delicious manner in the mouths of the slaves." Little Antonia came to call herself, and to be called by her parents and other relatives, "Don-don" or "Toinha" or "Totonha"; Thereza became "Teté"; Manoel became "Mané," "Mandú," or "Nezinho"; Francisco became "Chico," "Chiquinho," or "Chicó"; Pedro became "Pepé"; and Alberto became "Bebeto" or "Betinho."¹¹⁹

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In addition to the "hard and imperative" *diga-me, faça-me, espere-me*, of Portugal, another method of placing the pronoun came into use in Brazil. The slave and the lower classes developed *me-diga, me-faça, me-espere*, a manner of speaking which Ribeiro describes as of "great suavity and sweetness."¹²⁰ Freyre says "*faça-se* is the master speaking, the father, the patriarch; *me-dê* is the slave, the woman, the child."¹²¹

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The Negroes in Brazil are said to have been assiduous story-tellers. Many free *pretas*, mostly older women, made their living by wandering from *engenho* to *engenho* recounting tales to the women slaves which eventually found their way, transmitted especially by the *mãe preta* and the *muçama*, into the ears of the master's children. Particularly common were stories of animals possessing human characteris-

¹¹⁹ Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 243.

¹²⁰ João Ribeiro, *A língua nacional* (São Paulo, 1921), quoted in Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246 n.

¹²¹ *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246.

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of Raul's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs. When his father left the Reconcavo to come to Bahia, he brought Raul with him, and here, under his tutelage, Raul went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. And later, when his father went to Rio, he took Raul with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived."

Raul was a very dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He came to be a prominent citizen and was noted not only for his fine figure, distinguished bearing, poise, and personal charm but also for his intelligence and professional competence. At one time he was a much-loved confidant of a recent president of Brazil.

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Significant also, so far as the rise of the mulatto is concerned, is the fact that early in the nineteenth century the return of young professional men who had been trained in Europe—in Coimbra, Montpellier, Paris, and other centers—enhanced the prestige of the rising professional classes. These young lawyers and physicians, among whom were a number of quite capable mulattoes, were returning to Brazil after an education abroad, ordinarily more traveled, better informed, and more urbane than their brothers or half-brothers on the plantations, in the army, or among the clergy. They were especially attractive, we are told, to the upper-class ladies of the time. The importation of fashionable articles from the Continent—Parisian haberdashery, perfumes, hair-dressings, and English shoes—with the use of all of which these returning young men were quite familiar, enhanced their standing among the élite. The increasing

" From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him. For information on the later life of this mixed-blood see Appen. A.

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Quite exceptional in their subject matter are the following three papers:

Race Mixture in Brazil as a Eugenic Factor

The Mixed-Blood and the Problem of Degeneracy

The Social, as Opposed to the Racial, Causation of Degeneracy

These three papers, concerned as they obviously are with the oft-considered question of the relation of race mixture to degeneracy, indicate some concern in Brazil with this problem and thus appear at first sight to imply an interest in race relations in the North American sense of that expression. The question at issue turns out to be, however, largely an academic one, evoked perhaps by foreign literature and concerned with supporting arguments of white superiority and of Negro inferiority originating in Europe and the United States. At any rate, it is true that certain scholars, at a loss to account for the persistence in twentieth-century Brazil of African cultural forms, have seriously come to question the cultural capacities of the black race and to believe the future of Brazil prejudiced by the infusion of African blood.

Thus, about 1900, Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted with a number of Africans in Bahia and impressed with the slow rate at which they and their descendants were sloughing off African cultural forms and being assimilated into the white world,¹¹ and also influenced to a considerable degree by foreign writers,¹² raised very earnestly the question of "the capacity of the Negro to accommodate himself to the civilization of the superior races."¹³ Doubting specifically the ability of the Negro to take on European civilization,¹⁴

¹¹ *Os africanos no Brasil*, pp. 407-9; see also *ibid.*, chaps. v-vii.

¹² *Ibid.*, chap. vi, esp. pp. 388-98.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

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ture. It is a linguistic problem, a question of the influence of African dialects upon the Portuguese language. It is a sociological problem, a question of the influence of the Negro upon Brazilian social life.²⁹

As here defined, then, the concern of Brazilian intellectuals interested in the Negro lies in problems other than those arising from racial maladjustment, with the possible exception implied by the phrase "questions of racial heredity and race mixture," and similarly suggested by the titles of the last-named three papers presented to the first Afro-Brazilian Congress. But, if the situation is analyzed more fully, one finds that each of these three papers *attacks* the positions that the Negro is racially inferior and that race mixture leads to degeneracy.

The thesis of Negro inferiority is today perhaps most forcefully defended by Oliveira Vianna, able sociologist and member of the National Academy of Letters. Well versed in the race literature of Europe and of the United States and impressed, like Nina Rodrigues, with the difficulties in the way of assimilating the African and his descendants, Vianna has written:

The pure Negroes never will be able, not even the most advanced representatives of the race, to be assimilated completely into the white culture; their capacity for civilization—their "civilizability," so to speak—does not extend beyond merely imitating, more or less imperfectly, the habits and customs of the whites. Between the Negro's mentality and that of the Caucasian lies a substantial and irreducible difference which no social or cultural pressure, no matter how long it may be continued, can possibly overcome.³⁰

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁰ Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 156. It is obvious from a careful reading of his books that this able scholar inadvertently fails to distinguish between the biological and the cultural determinants in mental functioning and personality and that he also confuses cultural achievement with racial potentiality.

CHAPTER IX
OS AFRICANOS

THE connection between Africa and Bahia is perhaps more intimate and has been maintained over a longer period of time than any similar connection elsewhere in the New World. Although assimilation of the Africans and their descendants has been proceeding at a gradually accelerating rate and has now reached an advanced stage, identification with Africa and with African cultural forms still marks off rather noticeably a portion of the darker population. Differences in dress, in food and food habits, in forms of religious expression, in sacred specialists, in attempts to exercise control over personal destiny and over other human beings, in credulity in folklore, and, to a limited extent, in language describe different worlds which still coexist at Bahia: one largely African in derivation, the other European. 178 [563]*

The mental world of the Bahian upper class, which, as we have seen, includes a considerable number of the lighter mixed-bloods, is not greatly dissimilar to that of the same stratum in predominantly Catholic areas of Europe, especially in Portugal, Spain, and France, the latter of which has for a long time been the "intellectual motherland" of Brazil. 565 171 [177] •

But the superior, educated class is relatively small. Most of the people in the city, as well as in the state of Bahia, are illiterate and would be included in what is ordinarily conceived of as the folk. Of this group, the Africans and their descendants obviously constituted in the past, and still constitute today, a large element. 565 212

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This division in cultural identification, however, is not always sharply defined. Adherence to African cultural forms, for instance, the *candomblé*, often varies not only from family to family but also from individual to individual in the same family group; and, occasionally, in the same individual with reference to different cultural elements, to different periods in his life, and even to varying moods in his experience. In other words, African cultural forms at Bahia are disintegrating at a comparatively rapid rate.

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Nor should one assume that the body of customs and traditions which marks off to some extent this lower-class world is entirely of African origin. While it undoubtedly is composed in considerable part of elements originating in Africa, certain native Indian customs and traditions, together with ideas and practices common to the lower classes of Europe, as well as other customary behavior which has arisen in response to the circumstances of life in Brazil, contribute to it. The disentanglement of these diverse strands is, in some instances, a difficult and exceedingly laborious task.

It should be emphasized that these distinctions follow cultural and not necessarily racial lines. The lower class, as we have seen, includes a number of Europeans, and these have in numerous cases taken over sentiments and attitudes of African origin. Moreover, as the blacks and the mixed-bloods rise in class, they tend to slough off all identification with Africa and with African cultural forms.

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Bahian Negroes long maintained direct contact with the West Coast. Even after the extinction of the slave traffic, vessels regularly plied between Bahia and Lagos, repatriating nostalgic emancipated Negroes and returning with West

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as long as from here to the entrance of the fort,⁴ just for the family of my grandfather. He was buried in a room. A *quartinho* of water which is always kept full still stands there today.

When my father was born, my grandmother was already an old woman. But she was still very strong. When my grandfather died, she walked all by herself up to the place where they buried him. When I went to Africa, she was in Ibadum. She never saw my father again. When he took me to Africa, she did not get to see him because the Africans were fighting fiercely. No one could travel as far as from here to Rio Vermelho.⁷ So my father did not get to see his mother. But when she found out that he had been in Lagos and had left a son there, she never left off speaking of me. She wished to have me stolen, but the men who came to carry me to my grandmother never found me alone. They brought me presents. My grandmother had made me an African food which lasts two or three months and does not spoil. It is made with *fufo* of maize, crushed. All is seasoned with fragrant and savory seasonings, with onions and shrimps, and put in a large pan. It is like a cake they call here *bom docado*. In the African language it is called *adum*. Rolled up in leaves they gave it to me. My tutor ate part of it too.⁸ For fifteen days we ate *adum*. When I came back to Bahia and told my father I had eaten *adum*, he lost almost the whole day crying, because he had not seen his mother for almost fifty years, let alone eaten her cooking. He looked up at me, and said 'You, my son; you ate *adum*!' "

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Some contact with Africa is still maintained through family connections, although these are now rare; by means of African visitors, principally individuals from the crews of English ships recruited in Lagos; and by way of occasional newspapers published on the East or West Coast in Portuguese, English, or even African languages.

Thus, one will occasionally find in the possession of Bahian Negroes a copy of the *Nigerian Daily Times*, published

⁴ About one hundred yards.

⁷ About three miles.

⁸ The boy had been placed in a mission school.

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in Lagos.* In this journal for December, 1932, a Bahian black recently pointed out photos of Cleonice de Assumpção Alakija, "the youngest daughter of Dr. Maxwell P. de Assumpção Alakija, a lawyer of Bahia, Brazil," who "recently graduated as a throat and ear specialist from the Faculty of Medicine at Bahia"; of Dally Assumpção Alakija, youngest son of Dr. Maxwell, "recently graduated in Bahia as a civil engineer"; and of Adeyemo Alakija, their cousin, in the royal robes of an African chief from Abeokuta. The caption of the accompanying article was "A Notable Egba, Adeyemo Alakija."

This African cousin of Bahian blacks had been "honored by His Highness, the *Alaké* of Abeokuta," at a festival celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the Egbas at Abeokuta following severe internecine warfare and had subsequently been installed as "The Barujun of Aké." According to the account, Adeyemo Alakija belongs to a "distinguished family." His father was Marculino Assumpção, "Chief Akigbotum, known also as Elemeji, one of the first men to own a cotton gin in Abeokuta"; and his mother, Maxmilliana Assumpção Alakija, was the daughter of the late Alfa Cyprian Akinosho Tairu, native of Oyó, "a chief of Abeokuta with the title of Morope of Aké," for whom Tairu Lane in Lagos is named. Both of Adeyemo Alakija's parents were born in Brazil, the eldest living member of the family being the Bahian lawyer, Dr. Maxwell Porphyrio Assumpção Alakija, "father-in-law of His Worship, Olumuyiwa Jibowu, our Police Magistrate."

* One *Africano* also possesses copies of *Wasu* ("Preach"), a missionary pamphlet used in Nigeria; the English prayer-book and the Bible, both in Yoruba; the *Nigerian Catholic Almanac* for 1933; a life of Marcus Garvey; and a copy of the *Negro World* for April 19, 1930, the latter given him by a Negro fireman on an English ship which occasionally puts in at Bahia.

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[565] Paris fashions largely dictate the nature of female attire among the upper classes at Bahia, but many black women still wear the *vestimenta bahiana*. This costume is composed of a *saia*, or very full skirt, of varying combinations of colors, which ordinarily measures some twelve to fifteen feet in circumference at the hem and is worn *bouffant*, spread by a heavily starched underskirt; a *báld*, or long, loose-flowing white blouse which is ordinarily of cotton cloth but occasionally of silk, trimmed, in most cases, with wide lace, sometimes worn very loose at the neck and allowed to slip off one shoulder; a *pano da costa*, or long, heavy, striped cotton cloth, at times worn slung over the shoulder and pinned under the opposite arm, at times wrapped once or twice in a wide fold about the waist and tied rather tightly; a *torso*, or turban, of cotton or silk, bound about the head; *chinelas*, or strapless leather sandals with low heels; numerous necklaces of coral, cowries, or glass beads, with an occasional metal chain, often of silver; earrings of turquoise, coral, silver, or gold; and numerous bracelets of cowries or of iron, copper, or other metal. The *balangandan*, formerly an important ornament, has disappeared."

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As an alternate to the *báld* a white blouse is sometimes worn tucked inside the *saia*, and in place of the *pano da costa* a woolen or silken shawl is occasionally substituted. For

[532] "The *balangandan* (also known as *berenguenden*, *balançançan*, *cambaio*, or *penca*) consisted of a gold or silver frame on which were hung gold or silver images of animals, birds, fowls, fish, flowers, parts of the human body, houses, household utensils, amulets (including gold or silver balls inclosing soil from a cemetery), bells, medallions with religious significance, angels, suns, moons, etc. It was worn on festive occasions, tied at the waist (see F. Marques dos Santos, "As *balangandans*," *Espejo*, April, 1936). Many impoverished families, attracted by recent high prices of gold and silver, have disposed of these relics of a former splendor. A limited number may still be seen among the heirlooms of wealthy Bahians.

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festive occasions *sandalias*, or leather "mules," are regularly preferred to *chinelas*, and one often sees the common footwear of the lower class, the *tamancos*, simple sandals with wooden soles and leather toe straps; or, occasionally, cloth slippers. Some women go barefoot.

The *torso*, commonly said to be of Arabic origin, was probably brought to Brazil by the Haussás and other Negro followers of Mohammed who were imported from the areas immediately south of the Sahara. In *Globus* for April 28, 1910,¹² there is a photograph taken in Togoland which shows Negroes wearing *torsos*, *panos da costa*, and *saias* similar to those seen today in Bahia, except that the heavily starched petticoat usually worn with the latter is lacking.¹³

The typical wearer of this costume, or *vestimenta bahiana*, as it is called, is a tall, graceful black woman of remarkable physique, self-confident bearing, and intelligent, cheerful countenance. She is known as a *Bahiana*, the first of whom to emigrate from Bahia to Rio, during the disorders attendant on the struggle for independence, impressed the French visitor Debret as notably different from the black women of Rio, not only in dress, but also in general bearing.¹⁴ "The *Bahiana* came to symbolize, by extension, a gracious (*graciosa*) and spirited creole woman."¹⁵

The *Bahianas* were worth seeing at our festivals, with their splendid costumes; their arms half-covered with gold or silver bracelets; their diamond earrings; their gold necklaces from which hung . . . crosses, *figas*, and medallions of the order of *Carmo*, all of gold. . . . They completely dominated our religious festivals. . . . They

¹² XCVII, No. 16, 245.

¹³ The *saiá* is commonly worn in Bahia, on days other than those of festival, without starching the underskirt.

¹⁴ J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816-1831* (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), II, 105.

¹⁵ Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

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Although the Bahian upper classes, owing to their Negro cooks, are not unacquainted with those dishes of African origin so commonly eaten in the homes of lower-class blacks, one does not ordinarily find on their tables African delicacies like *abará*, *aberém*, *acassá*, *acaragê*, *arroz de Aussá*, *bóbó de inhame*, *carurú*, *efô*, *xin-xin*, etc., each of which is seasoned according to recipes handed down from African forebears who also extensively made use of African seasonings like *azeite de dendê*, *atarê*, *irú*, *pejerecum*, *iêrê*, and *egussi*.¹⁸ The eating habits of the upper classes are, in general, European in origin. But the poorer inhabitants extensively utilize banana leaves for plates and for packaging foods and replace forks with fingers as eating accessories.

The music and dances enjoyed by large numbers of the darker population further distinguish this portion of the Bahian community. For instance, the *samba*, or *samba batida*, a regional form of the old *batuque*, although it has now been taken over by the upper classes and in a modified form become not only one of the most characteristic musical forms but also one of the favorite dances of Brazil, is still enjoyed in its primitive simplicity by the Bahian lower classes. With them it is a dance in which first one and then another of the participants enters a circle, dances a shuffling step while singing, cantor-fashion, the first line of a stanza, the others responding as a chorus. A song very popular at Mar Grande on the island of Itaparica in the bay at Bahia recalls the

¹⁸ *Azeite de dendê* is oil from the *dendê* palm; *atarê*, said to have been imported from Africa by Bahian Negroes, is a variety of pepper; *egussi* are gourd or melon pips; *iêrê* are seeds similar to those of the coriander; *irú* and *pejerecum* (or *dejerocum*) are varieties of small beans. For recipes of a number of these dishes see Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A arte culinária na Bahia* (Bahia, 1928).

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The mau olhado, or "evil eye," a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; the *espinhela caída*, or "fallen breastbone," which presumably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and *sangue nova*, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are considered defects common to all men.* However, the persistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical counterpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of this section of the Bahian population attempt to control personal destiny through the use of charms or other magical means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the "evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, or *Vassourinha Doce* plants are passed, to the accompaniment of magical words, over and about the affected person's head.

goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *feitico* calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended.

* "Syphilis," a black explained, "began with the world. Everyone has it, even horses, although it may never show up."

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beast and wandered about. We knew he did, for a man who was passing a dark spot on the road late one night saw him; but when he took out his knife and started after him, the beast fled. The *lobishomem* was covered all over with hair and looked horrible. Other people saw him too, running around on all fours. The dogs always barked on Friday nights something terrible. On Saturday morning this man appeared dusty and more pale than usual. He never caught any children because they were all careful to stay in the house during the hours when he was out. But he caught many dogs and cats. He merely sucked their blood; he did not eat them. People found the bodies later, with all the blood drained out.

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Mulas de padre are reputedly the concubines of priests who, transformed into headless animals, run about at night, preferably on Fridays. Covered with noise-making instruments, such as bells, *chocalhos*, and kitchen utensils, they are said to make "an infernal racket" which can be heard as much as a mile away and "makes one's blood run cold."

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The *caipora* and the *biatilla* are probably survivals of Indian lore. The former is a creature thought to inhabit timbered areas, where he is peculiarly fond of leading people astray. When a person is lost, the *caipora* "may make him pass right by the path and never see it." The *caipora* calls out to the unfortunate person and leads him further and further astray. Of female sex, an animal some say, a half-body cut perpendicularly from crown to crotch according to others, the *caipora* may be driven away if one smokes tobacco, takes snuff, or chews garlic.

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A young *pardo* shoemaker, having become by reason of his schooling somewhat skeptical of tales of the *lobishomem* and of the *mula de padre*, insisted, however, that

the *caipora* is real. Just as a blow on your arm will leave a red mark, the *caipora* has left signs of himself. I know a Portuguese immigrant, a man upright and truthful, who was warned not to hunt on Fridays. He laughed at the warning, and went on into the timber in search of

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jacks, found one, and shot at it. The *jacks* flew at him with its claws extended and severely scratched him. He shot at it again. It flew back and clawed at his eyes. Then he heard a voice, saying "You know you must not hunt on Fridays." It was the *caipora*. The man staggered home, and fell senseless in the door of his house. I knew this man well.

The *biaisid* is said to be a woman who inhabits the sea, appearing above water only at night, gradually increasing in size until she assumes an enormous shape, and "casting a huge and frightening shadow."

Fear of the toad, probably also a survival of Indian belief, is common.³⁹ If a toad happens to hop into the door of a house, the occupant will immediately grab a broom and sweep it out, repeating over and over, "Creio em Deus Padre."⁴⁰ If a malicious person paints a toad on the wall of a dwelling, its occupants will at once desert the place.

The following account reveals in an intimate way the mental world of a considerable portion of the Bahian lower class. It was related by a young Negro woman in the form of a series of personal experiences and is presented here in as nearly as possible the exact phrasing in which it was originally given.

I was three years old. I was sitting with my mother when something hit me, and I fell over unconscious. She picked me up and took me to a doctor. He gave me medicine and said that it was congestion. Some thought it was the *ar do vento*.

I knew nothing of what was going on; it was as if I were dead. To

³⁹ "Montoya says ('Manuscripto guarani da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos Indios das Minas', *Anaes da Bibliotheca Nacional*, Vol. VI) that among Indians observed by him, the entrance of a toad into a gathering of people was a sign of the approaching death of one of those present" (Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 99).

⁴⁰ "I believe in God, the Father."

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776 My sister is preparing *carurá*. She has twin boys. When God gives you twins, you are obliged to present *carurá* to Coame and Damiao. If you fail to do this, someone in the house will die that year.

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565 If one were now to set down an account of the personal experiences of an upper-class Bahian, it would reveal an entirely different mental world. In general content it would reflect a culture distinctly European. Dress, music, food and food habits, forms of religious expression, sacred specialists, means of exercising control over personal destiny, and the ideas, attitudes, sentiments, points of view, and philosophy of life associated with them would, in general, not vary from those commonly characteristic of individuals of European origin wherever found.

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178 This variation at Bahia in cultural identification between the Europeans, on the one hand, and the *Africanos*, on the other—this difference in ideas, attitudes, and sentiments—obviously erects serious barriers to intercommunication and consequently retards the development of a body of common understandings upon which the moral solidarity of any society is built. Although most of the Bahian blacks have now to a considerable extent sloughed off their former cultural identity with Africa and have been more or less completely incorporated into the European world, a remnant of *Africanos* still live, in spite of contiguity in space with the Europeans, to a considerable extent culturally apart.

As will be evident in greater detail in the following chapter, the Europeans tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, scorn, disparagement, and condemnation. They are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior forms of behavior.

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They represent, to this element of the Bahian population, another world.

The general disposition, however, is to tolerate these African practices so long as they are not too obviously indulged in, particularly in public places, and they in no way interfere with the European habits of the major portion of the population. The Europeans act in this respect with somewhat the same leniency which an adult exercises toward the immature conduct of a child, in the confident expectation that "time and education" will do away with these evidences of what one upper-class individual referred to as "cultural backwardness and barbarism." Thus, the behavior of the numerically small group of *Africanos*, although under continuous disapproval and disparagement, is ordinarily treated more as a matter for levity than as a cultural threat; it meets with little deliberate effort at eradication, and even such attempts as are made in this direction are sporadic and halfhearted. Partially for these very reasons, African cultural forms are rapidly disappearing at Bahia.

The *vestimenta bahiana*, for instance, although ordinarily regarded by representatives of the European culture as picturesque, rather romantic wearing apparel, tends today to be largely discarded, especially by the mixed-bloods, and to be withdrawn more and more into the relative privacy of the *condomblé*. Of 500 mulatto women noted on the streets, only 5 were wearing the full costume, and 14 others had on certain portions of it, while 481, or 96.2 per cent, appeared in modern European dress. Of 500 black women noted, 91, or 18.2 per cent, were wearing the full costume, 82 others, or 16.4 per cent, were wearing parts of the costume, while 327, or 65.4 per cent, had on modern European clothing.

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[1778] In details of language, ceremonial dress, dance, song and pantheon, these centers differ from the *candomblés* known as "Congo" or "Angola," in which Bantú dialects are spoken, Loanda and Benguela become sacred places, and Tempo and the Angolan chief Kissimbe are worshiped. They differ also from the apparently more recently organized *caboclo candomblés* whose ritual is, in varying degrees from *seita* to *seita*, a mixture of the rituals of the other cults, together with dances and a pantheon of Tupi origin, the latter of which includes Tupan, an important Tupi deity, and Tupinambá, apparently a personification of the cannibal tribe by that name which inhabited the Bahian coast at the coming of the Europeans.

• [177] The *caboclo candomblés* carry on their ceremonies principally in Portuguese, with the addition of certain phrases of African origin, usually much corrupted, which have been picked up from Gêge-Nagô or Congo-Angola *seitas*, and a few words of Tupi derivation. Feathers, the bow and arrow, and other Indian cultural elements enter into their ritual.

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178 This borrowing of ceremonial elements on the part of *caboclo* imitators, who in many, if not most, cases have not been reared in the African tradition, is bitterly resented by the more orthodox and scrupulous *Africanos*, particularly those of the Gêge-Nagô *seitas*. As a Negro once said, "Si seja mistura, é bobagem" ("If it's mixed, it's nonsense"). A leader of a Nagô cult once burst out:

This fellow João da Pedra Preta! What a disgraceful whelp! His forebears, what did they know? Were they brought up in the *seita*, and did they "deixaram o cargo" [will the office of priest] to him? No! He came here from the *sertão* and started a *candomblé*. Picked up a little Gêge, a little Nagô, a little Congo, a little Indian stuff, and so on. A disgraceful mixture!

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A Nagô *mãe de santo* boasted of the ritual in her *seita*: "It's all pure Nagô; there's nothing in my *candomblé* of this abominable mixture which these upstart places practice today. They call this *caboclo* nonsense *candomblé*! Why, they know absolutely nothing about the way it's done in Africa!"

However, the borrowing of ritual back and forth from *seita* to *seita* sometimes takes place even in the case of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola centers. Moreover, these *seitas* have not entirely escaped some Indian influence.

With reference, then, to cultural origin and identification, there are three principal types of *candomblés* at Bahia: the Gêge-Nagô, the Congo-Angola, and the *caboclo*.² The *seitas* of probably most pure Gêge-Nagô origin are those of Engenho Velho, reputed to be the oldest cult center in Bahia; Gantois, which split off from Engenho Velho approximately a century ago and was, during the time of the famed *mãe de santo* Pulcheria, the seat of the researches of Nina Rodrigues; and São Gonçalo, whose able and widely respected *mãe de santo* speaks a Yoruba dialect locally known as Queito. These three centers are probably largely Nagô in origin,³ while that of Bogum is said to be with the possible exception

² The Malé, or Mohammedan cult, which at one time was vigorous and flourishing, seems to have been largely forsaken in favor of the fetish cults by the Negroes at Bahia. Although, in 1903, Nina Rodrigues estimated that one-third of the Africans still living in the city were Mohammedans, he at the same time pointed out that they were then making few, if any, converts among blacks born in Brazil and that Mohammedanism would in all probability die with them (*op. cit.*, pp. 63-64). Certain of the Malé ritual, however, has contributed to the general fusion so characteristic of present-day *candomblés*, and at least three Malé centers are still functioning.

³ Also of Yoruba identification is *Lingua da Vaca* ("Cow's Tongue"), which was organized by Negroes of Ige-shá and Egbá origin.

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[302] Three of the dancers are *yauts*, in process of being "made."
[301] Their heads have been shaved clean, and white spots and blue lines have been painted upon them. On their cheeks are white spots and white lines. Around the neck, or over the right shoulder and under the left arm, are long chains of large cowries imported from the West Coast.

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In a special building with a cement floor is "the throne room of Xangô." At one side is an altar to him, which is lavishly decorated with candles and flowers, both fresh and artificial. Indicating the fusion of Catholic and fetish elements, one notes on the lower step an image of Santo Antonio, on the second, one of Nossa Senhora das Candeias, on the third, an image of the twins, Cosme and Damião, and, on the top level, one of São Jeronimo. The *mãe de santo* says that Santo Antonio is "just another name" for Ogun; as similarly is Nossa Senhora das Candeias, for the water deity, Oxun; Cosme and Damião, for Beji; and São Jeronimo, for Xangô.

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[352] On the other side of the room is "the throne of Xangô," a wooden chair, intricately carved, with a pillow for a headrest. Suspended on the walls are pictures of several Catholic saints.

[353] In the center of an adjoining room is "the spring of the *mãe d'agua*," a huge basin built of cement and containing ten to twelve inches of water. On the wall is the Nagô inscription, "Ilê Awon Afonjá" ("House of Xangô").

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The leader of another *seita* is a male black, known as Pae Procopio, sixty-six years of age, of Gêge descent, whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, he proudly boasts, were all Africans and *pães de santo*. His mother's sister was also "an *Africano*," but his mother was a Brazilian-born black, a *mãe de santo* who "deixou o cargo" (i.e., left the

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there is little distinction between them. The *paé de santo* of a prominent Congo *seita* recently remarked, "I do everything (i.e., I carry on all cult rituals and ceremonies) in the name of the church."⁶

On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the father of a well-known and widely respected *babalaô*, a special commemorative Mass was arranged in one of the city's principal churches. During the ceremony, a circle of friars who were standing with lighted candles about the bier was joined by an outer circle of Negro men, each bearing a funeral torch. Although the friars were probably unaware of the fact, the blacks were all *ogans* from the *candomblé* of *mãe de santo* Anninha. In the audience were more than a hundred important personages from the fetish world, including *babalaôs*, *paes* and *mães de santo*, *ogans*, and *filhas*. Said the *babalaô* whose father was being thus honored, "Last night at the *terreiro* we danced all night the African funeral dances for my father."

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In the minds of cult members several of the more important African *orixás*, as we have seen, have come to be identified with certain Catholic saints. Thus, Ogun, the *orixá* of war, is now identified with Santo Antonio; Oxóssi, the *orixá* of the hunt, with São Jorge; Oxalá, who to most members of the *candomblé* is "the greatest of the *orixás*," with O Senhor do Bomfim, who is, among the lower classes at least, the most important Catholic saint at Bahia;⁷

⁶ This point of view obviously is not that of the Catholic church itself.

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⁷ In Bomfim Church, which, with two rows of royal palms dominating its approach, occupies majestically the crown of a hill in Itapagipe, is a special room whose walls and ceiling are completely covered with photographs or plaster casts of crippled or diseased limbs or other parts of the body which have been, it is thought, miraculously cured of disease or other infirmity by the direct intervention of the saint. So great is his reputation for healing that thousands of people from miles around visit this shrine every year.

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Omôlô, the *orixá* of pestilence, with São Roque, or, in some cases, with São Bento; and Exú, with Satan. Of the *mães d'água* (water deities), Yemanjá is confused in some cases with Nossa Senhora da Piedade (Our Lady of Compassion), and in others with Nossa Senhora do Rosario (Our Lady of the Rosary); Oxun, in some cases, with Nossa Senhora das Candeias and, in others, with Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception); Yansan, with Santa Barbara; and Nanan (Anamburucú, Nanamburucú), with Nossa Senhora de Sant'Ana. Beji, the twins, are identified with Cosme and Damião; Irôko (Rôko, Lôko), who is presumed to dwell in the *gamelaíra* tree, with Poverello (São Francisco) de Assis;¹⁸ and Ifá, the *orixá* of divination, with Santíssimo Sacramento (the Most Holy Sacrament). Even Xangô, the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, to whom Edison Carneiro refers as "indisputably the most African of all the *orixás* worshiped at Bahia,"¹⁹ and who is still thought of by some blacks as being distinct from any Catholic saint, is worshiped in several of the most representative Gêge-Nagô *seitas* under the name of São Jerônimo and, occasionally, of Santa Barbara.

The conditions which favor fusion in this last-named case are not difficult to understand. In Portuguese folklore Santa Barbara is thought of as a protector against lightning, a conception which probably led very easily to the identification of Santa Barbara in the Negroes' minds with Xangô, who is, in the African tradition, "the *orixá* of the thunderbolts." Fusion in this case, as in others, would have been aided by the common conception that each African deity is both a protector and a destroyer; a kindly protector when offered

¹⁸ Edison Carneiro, *Religiões negras* (Rio, 1936), p. 155.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-54.

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776 the proper ritual, and a vengeful destroyer if rites and taboos
 0177 are ignored.

Although this fusion is proceeding rapidly, it is still far from complete. A number of Cêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola *orixás*, and at least thirty *caboclo* deities, have not yet been in any way identified with Catholic equivalents.

794 Occasionally, the critical attitude of members of the fetish
 177 world toward unorthodox practices in other *seitas* extends
 797 also to the incorporation of Catholic ritual, ideas, and sentiments into fetish practice and belief. A *babalú* and *feticeiro*, born in Africa of repatriated Brazilian slaves, recently remarked, "These Bahian *candomblés* aren't African any more. Why, they all go to Mass, pray the rosary, and burn candles to the saints! It's all mixed up now."

539 The following story illustrates the fusion of European
 177 and African traditions. Related recently by a local black, it recounts some of the experiences of Obaluaíê (Abaláu-aiê) and Omolú, known also in Bahia as Xapanan (Xapanã), and is obviously confused with the biblical stories of the Prodigal Son and of Lazarus. It also refers to a European city.

XAPANÃ, FATHER AND SON

Xapanã was fifteen years old when his parents sent him out into the world to see what life was like. After he had walked a long way, he came to a city called Venice, where he went about looking for work. But no one offered him anything, and finally, becoming very hungry, he began to go up to houses and beg for something to eat. But everywhere he asked he was turned away.

Sad and disillusioned, Xapanã continued on his way. At last he came to a forest, where he remained for some time, living on fruits and insects.

When Xapanã was nineteen years of age, he began to think of returning to his father's house and at last made himself ready and set out on the way. Xapanã walked and walked, until one day just as

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night was falling, he, all covered with sores and bruises, began to approach his father's house.

But his father, who saw the traveler coming a long way off, did not recognize him and consequently did not go out to meet him. Xapaná's mother, however, knew her son and in pity at his misfortune, begged and pleaded with her husband to have compassion for him and to receive him like the legitimate son he was.

But the old man turned to her and said:

"This fellow is not my son, because I never had a son who was full of sores."

But, at last, due to the continued pleadings of his wife, the ancient one inquired of the traveler what his name was. Xapaná replied:

"I am called Lazarus."

"Who is Lazarus?" asked the father.

Then Xapaná said: "I am he whom God permitted to use this name."

But the old man persisted in knowing the reason why, if he was Xapaná, he was using the name of Lazarus.

The son turned to his father and replied very quietly:

"I am Xapaná, the lord over pestilence throughout the whole world." And he sang in Queito:

"I say "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaité,
I call out "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaité,
Tôôô."

The old man Omolú then replied:

"Ojé badô
Dô lá."

And the young man sang:

"Ojé di apá."

In this way the two came to know each other, and Xapaná "the Elder" recognized Xapaná "the Younger."

A few whites, even from the upper classes, visit the *pas de santo* to obtain advice on business, politics, and other matters or aid in the cure and prevention of disease. Numerous

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As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult. I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalão* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

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Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

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Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalão* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha, and the aged Maria Bádá,

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"Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado da Bahia* (January 3, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

[SALVADOR]

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whom practiced a liberal profession and were graduates of the University of Bahia, to classify according to their type the persons carried on the list of physicians and pharmacists registered at the Ministry of Public Health, representatives of the State and /16/ federal representatives, university professors, members of the local academy of letters, and other associations of the city, there too the term moreno was most often used to designate the métis. Those who used the expression "mulatto" were rare. As a result of the influence exerted by North American films, one sometimes hears mention of "colored" /quoted in English/; a local journal described a politician of Bahia with this term, and a woman questioned by us acknowledged being "colored" /quoted in English/.

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In a recent book a writer of the city sums up the semantic problems in relation to the characterization of local types in this way: "A light Black is called mulatto, the light mulatto is a moreno, a blond becomes a sarará. As for pardo, no one knows what that is. White fino is said of those persons whose origin and appearance do not show this "margin" thanks to which one infallibly recognizes crossbreeding. And those who are whites of mixed blood do not like to show the portraits of their ancestors" (1).

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1. J. Valadares, Beabá da Bahia /ABC's of Bahia/ 1951, p. 91.

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The foreigners, who are relatively limited in number in the city, are easily distinguished by the majority of people. A European with strange manners, speaking Portuguese with great difficulty, or expressing himself in another language, is simply considered a "foreigner," particularly if he has a light and pink skin, blue eyes, and fine, blond hair. A Brazilian showing these characteristics is accused of being a "foreigner type" or a "German type." Foreigners may also be called gringos, whatever their physical characteristics may be. The Spaniards, who are very numerous in the grocery business, are sometimes called the "gringos of the grocery business." The Russian, Polish, and

[SALVADOR]

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[621] social cohesion of the community (1).

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[62] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

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798 • [797] As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

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578 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

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{SALVADOR}

175 /22 cont./

829 The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners re-
 567 served for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic
 182 clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorpo-
 797 rate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an im-
 portant role in the establishment of good relations between races
 in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the
 other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported
 slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable
 "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized,
 catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numer-
 ous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts"
 and became "Christians," with the same title as the European
 colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious dis-
 crimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the
 preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly
 in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the
 Africans of different origins were able to understand one another.

175 They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated
 829 by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended
 567 to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received
 797 the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings
 (585) and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they
 (664) marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems
 of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian ceme-
 teries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time
 to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their
 lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus com-
 pletely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and
 the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concern-
 ing certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them
 to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them
 to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies
 (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of
 origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with
 fetichist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a
 large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

(113)